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I. A. BLÁHA'S SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF THE TOWN

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1. Theme

In 1922, after almost twenty years of teaching at various grammar schools, I. A. Bláha was appointed professor of sociology at the newly founded Masaryk University of Brno. He was more than 43 years old. At that time he had accomplished a considerable work in sociology and adult education. As a university teacher he continued his practical and theoretical work in adult education. He always showed a deep interest in education and in pedagogics as a theoretical foundation thereof. This statement is based on a series of Bláha's studies, such as e. g. of moral education from the sociological standpoint (Nové Město, 1921), of the lay foundations of moral education (Brno, 1929), of education and the new school from a sociological viewpoint (Praha, 1930), of the problems of adult education (Praha 1927), the treatise "Why should We Work in Adult Education" (Brno 1932), but also several writings of his which are closely related to education, e. g. his Sociologie dětství (Sociology of the Childhood, 1st edition in 1927; reedited in 1930 and 1946).

In Bláha's work, educational problems are closely related to the moral ones on which Bláha concentrated his interest at the beginning of the twenties. Accordingly, in 1922 his Filosofie mravnosti (Philosophy of Morality) was published, and in the following year his treatise about contemporary moral ideas and his Základy mravnosti (Foundations of Morality, both in Prague, 1923).

An intense attention of social scientists as well as of the general public was drawn to Bláha's Sociologie sedláka a dělníka (The Sociology of the Peasant and Worker, 1st ed. in Prague 1925, the 2nd, corrected and enlarged, ed. in Prague 1937). In Czech sociology it brought a new theme, and a new scientific approach. too, by applying social typology and by stressing the social psychological aspect. Besides, a strongly marked comparative element was new too.

The first years following World War I of Bláha's scientific profile are marked by ethical, educational and the above sociological problems. At that time, however, Bláha had accomplished a series of sociological and other studies, to the topics of which he returned after the war. These studies were mostly concerned with the town, the small town predominantly. Bláha, the sociologist, psychologist and pedagogue, endeavoured to make a scientific study of the environment in which he had lived and worked as a secondary school teacher.

His view of social reality was influenced by Masaryk's critical realism and partly by the methodological conception of the French Sociological School of E. Durkheim. At the beginning of this century Bláha spent one term of his university studies in Paris and he returned there for further studies later on.

The positivistic rennaissance in sociology as represented by E. Durkheim and his followers, turned social scientists away from macrosociological problems and quite decisively from the constructions of speculative sociological systems. On the contrary, it led them to special monographic work based on research. The milieu of a small town presented itself as an immediate research material to Bláha.

Bláha's studies stressing the psychological aspect were concerned with various. even topical, problems: the small town bourgeoisie, political tradition in a small town, small town morality and psychology. In a well written study, Tomáš Čep,1 another Czech sociologist and member of Bláha's Sociological School, gave a bibliography of Bláha's treatises on the subject and showed the manner in which successive stages of Bláha's studies of the town slowly crystallized: Bláha's scientific interest grew wider and wider, he steadily brought forth new facts about the history of the economic, legal, political and cultural development of the town, he followed up the development of the town element of craftsmen, men of industry and commerce; of the social stratification of the town population. The preparation and conception of the first larger work by Blaha, i. e. his sociological study Město (The Town, Prague 1914), which he presented as his habilitation thesis is already manifest here. A note on its cover informs the reader that a sociological treatise on "A Small Town" is in preparation. Nothing is known to me about the further fate of this work nor the reason of its not being published. The years of World War I may have prevented its publication. Naturally, the town is discussed in one chapter of Blaha's recently published Sociologie.

In his first monograph appearing as a book and aiming at a synthetic picture

of the town Bláha gave himself a rather difficult task at the time.

Partial concrete studies founded on the research of some aspects only of the life in a small town also exhibit methodological difficulties, but such difficulties can be overcome much more easily. The problem looks quite different in a sociological study of the town, if such a study claims to be of a more general character. For the town is no simple social aggregate, but — as Bláha emphasizes himself — a complex social organization of many organizations related to one another in intricate relationships. No wonder that larger synthetic sociological studies about the town appeared rather late, and that even more specialized works dealing with this rather complicated social sphere drew great attention with respect to their problems as well as methodology. I am referring e. g. to the remarkable work on a middlesized American town Middletown, published by R. S. Lynd and his wife H. M. Lynd in 1929, as much as to their Middletown in Transition from 1937. More synthetic works of a larger size from this sphere appeared as late as the twenties of this century.²

¹ Cf. T. Čep: "Sociologie města a venkova v díle prof. dr. In. A. Bláhy" in the Volume: Pocta in. Arn. Bláhovi k šedesátým narozeninám. Příspěvek k dějinám české sociologie, ed.: A. J. Obrdlík, Brno 1939.

² Cf. c. g.: R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess and H. G. Mackenzie: *The Urban Community*, 1927; N. Anderson and E. C. Lindemann: *Urban Sociology*, 1928; P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman: *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, 1929; etc.

In the time when he was writing his Město, Bláha had a great choice of auxiliary historical, cultural historical, economical and legal books on the causes of the origin, on the history and legal place, of towns. In Czech conditions we should like to mention the great work of Zikmund Winter, which presents rich documentation from the life of our towns in the past in various respects: economic (the development of the crafts, trade and commerce), cultural or those concerned with the household. Bláha made an extensive use of such and similar works of foreign origin. At his disposal he had a series of onesided definitions of the town, especially economic and political in character, and a series of theories on the origin of the town (French theories: romanistic, royalistic, of the church, revolutionary; a number of theories presented by German historians, etc.).

Fewer were, however, truly sociological books on the subject or, at least, such as would come close to a sociological approach. Blaha could make use of Sombart's studies, though directed to national economy, and of several more

specific treatises³ and of studies published in reviews.

The heuristic basis of Bláha's study of the town is fairly broad as to problems referring to the origin and development of the town, i. e. historical aspect, which can be designated as auxiliary when seen from the point of view of a dynamic sociology of the town, and fairly extensive as far as economic, legal and political (e. g. referring to the town and its self-government) aspects of the town life are concerned. Bláha had mostly in view the situation, both historical and contemporary, of the Czech towns, though his work contains comparisons with cities outside the Czech sphere.

Bláha seeks to build up the fundamentals of a sociological theory of the town. Consequently, the theoretical conception of the above social sciences are not satisfactory, e. g. because of their economic and legal approach. On these grounds, Bláha had fairly unlimited possibilities for the construction of his own sociological theory of the town.

2. Method

His first monograph as well as his further writings are characterized by a unity of Bláha's ontological and epistemological starting-points. He proceeds from a certain conception of social reality and modifies his approaches to it accordingly. Here he follows in the steps of E. Durkheim's method, though he modifies the latter's conception of social reality. He concedes that the town and its townlike quality exist like any other social phenomenon objectively "in a certain arrangement, organization of the inward — both material and ideal — group milieu in which it manifests itself". The town has a specific structure, both material and social — and fulfils specific functions. As a certain "kind of thinking, feeling and behaviour" it makes itself manifest through individuals, but as a social phenomenon. The collective exists but in "the living form of the individual, subjective expression". 5

⁴ I. A. Bláha: Město, Praha 1914, p. 13.

⁶ ib.

³ Cf. e. g.: F. A. Weber: The Growth of the Cities in the Nineteenth Century, 1897; A. Mater: Le socialisme conservateur ou municipal, 1909; A. Vavaseur: Qu'est ce que la bourgeoisie, 1897; P. Meuriot: Des agglomérations urbaines dans l'Europe contemporaine, 1897; R. Kuczyński: Der Zug nach der Stadt, 1897.

In his study of social phenomena, Bláha's emphasis does not only refer to the sphere of social anatomy or mophology. Beside this formal structure of the town, its specific quality should be taken into consideration. And this specific quality of the town is rooted in its own life, in its functioning, in its specific functions. Bláha rejects, however, any onesided functional analysis as unsatisfactory, the more so if it is reduced to one function of the town, whether economic or administrative, because a town represents a functional manysided collective organism. In this way emphasis is laid on the necessity of supplementing a functional analysis to the structural anatomic analysis of any social phenomenon, of the town as well.

Should we know a social phenomenon — the town in this connection — in its specificity, we must know all components of its structure, both material (its material, outside appearance, its population), and social, its specific functions and the structures thereof. The quality of any social group is obviously determined by the structures of its functions. In these statements the fundamental traits of Bláha's federative (superfunctional) link of functions can already be traced.

Another methodological principle can be deduced from the changeability of a studied phenomenon. In Blaha's view, described above, the structural-functional analysis or, in other words, formal-functional, morphologic content analysis does not comprehend any social phenomenon as static, unchangeable. "We must not forget that the concept of the town has changed ... relative to time and space; this or that feature, this or that function became more manifest according to the time and country."7 "Should any structure or phenomenon be understood and evaluated in the totality of its social character, its preceding development phases, which determine the present phase, must be taken into account; specific causes of its origin should be found out, and their influence on its material and social structures as well as on its functions should be followed up."8 Bláha draws attention to the connexions and relationships between the forms and the contents of various social groups.9 Thus the task of sociology is to study in social phenomena, e. g. in social groups, their in ward milieu, both passive (such as material objects which serve the needs of the group or immaterial components such as law, morality, tradition, in short, all constitutive elements of the group) and active (i. e. processes in which men in association form and use the milieu), and the functioning of the milieu, but also the outward environment, whether natural or social. The study of changes and mutual influences of these two kinds of milieu is the only means of explaining processes of the development of social phenomena. The human, i. e. active, milieu is considered by Bláha as the main factor of all social happening. "All the other factors form merely its solid basis, a fixed point out of which it can move time and space; they give it only the material and the conditions of activity."10

When a comparison is made of Blaha's further works, as e. g. his Socio-

⁶ ib., p. 14. ⁷ ib., p. 16.

⁸ ib., p. 19.

⁹ ib., p. 10. ¹⁰ ib., p. 11.

logy of the Intelligentsia (1937), with his treatise on the town, the main pillars of Bláha's conception of social reality and of his methodical approaches can be distincly found in this work from before World War I. Although the latter was merely a monograph of the town, the outlines of Bláha's sociological system, of his conception of social phenomena were outlined in it as well as his epistemological and methodological principles of a sociological approach to it. In an embrionic state as it were we can find there even prerequisites for the completion of a sociological approach using the method of social typology to be developed further on. That is why the essence of this work needed no reshaping and could be used as a basis of the respective chapter on urban sociology in Bláha's Sociologie. It is evident that Bláha sought for a better and more precise conceptualization and scientic approach as becomes manifest in his later monographs and his systematic Sociologie. In it a confrontation took place of Bláha's nonmarxist conception with the elements of marxism-leninism.

3. Theory

In compliance with his conception of social reality and of its development changes which means, simultaneously, in compliance with the method of approach to it. Blaha proceeds to study the origin, social nature, structure and functioning of the town. Firstly, on the basis of the history of the origin and development of the town he seeks to determine the causes of the origin and functions of the town. He points out the specific character of ancient towns and their differences from mediaeval towns and those of recent times. Let us quote him: "An extensive character of the ancient culture, slavery and the lack of liberty hindered the social progress towards the specialization of labour, of needs and functions and, thereby, towards the creation of a middle estate which as a substantial element of mediaeval and modern cities, is the creator of new economic, social and cultural values."11 He deals with the origin and nature of Gallic, Italian, German, Belgian, English, Spanish, Russian and Czech towns. Confronting the historic documentation with various theories of the origin of the town, Bláha concludes that towns originated mainly as "a natural resultant of changing economic and social conditions of the village social group out of which, in a natural way of the division of labour, the proper town-forming element is differentiated. namely craftsmen and tradesmen". 12 Consequently, he considers the craftsmen and tradesmen predominantly to be "the town-forming element". The rise of the town created a new social situation, a new "social material", special organism which manifests itself in a new way of functioning in the economic. social, legal-political and cultural and even mental spheres. "The social material of the town group determines specific characteristics of its formation, namely its heterogeneity, complexity of its organization, a hierarchic gradation of such organizations the causes of which are obviously various, and a changing and growing character of its volume."13

In compliance with his methodological principles Blaha deals, first of all, with the components of the town structure, with its material organization

¹¹ ib., p. 23.

¹² ib., p. 45 ff., Sociologie, pp. 118 ff.

¹³ Mesto, p. 76.

and the social composition of its population. The material frame of the town (squares, market-places, the network of streets, the agglomeration of houses, even their style and ornaments, etc.) is, according to Bláha, "a visible exponent of the social stratification of the town group". In contrast to the old village collectivity, new social situations, new needs, interests and forms of association arise in towns just because craftsmen and tradesmen form their fundamental element. Bláha points out the specific character of economic and social interests of craftsmen and tradesmen, the development forms of their associations (guilds) and conflicts, processes of their hierarchization and of creation of inequalities, both economic and legal. He deals with social questions and struggles which appear already in mediaeval towns and which present an anticipation of modern social problems and struggles in urban societies which, from the very beginning, exhibit a trait of a new quality and a sense for collectivity as an expression of a new collective life, but which also produce social differences and conflicts under the pressure of economic and other social needs and interests.

Bláha outlines social changes and the differentiation of the original strata of a town society, he shows the manner in which its fundamental social elements are joined by other groups of the population, the creation of a new town aristocracy, of the category of the so-called liberal professions, and finally, the way in which the town was changed under the influence of industry and the rise of industrial workers. Though industry is not bound to the town only, "it could not arise elsewhere but in the town conditions to meet the town needs", and it enlarged "the number of social groups above which the town population becomes piled and, predominantly at present, complicates the town social life with social problems mainly by laying a still greater emphasis on the capital than the trade has done, by destroying guild organization, by depersonalizing manual work and by helping to organize a new social class, namely that of workers". 15

In a very documentary way Bláha's study informs about the stages of development and decay of our towns, about both internal and external causes of such changes; he shows the ways in which towns have helped the economic, technical, sanitary and spiritual progress; he points out antagonisms existing between various layers of the town population as well as between the latter and the rural groups.

Bláha did not intend to give a history of the town, but he attempted to bring forward sociological knowledge about mediaeval towns and those of present times. Accordingly, he could not omit digressions into the sphere of historical sociology. In this way only was he able to formulate the social function of the town. He sets it forth in the following way: "... the town became a place of a rich division of labour and of an increase in the number of needs; it gave origin to new occupations and professions and organized a new social layer." It became "a place of the individual adaptation to new social tasks", but also the focus of new social conflicts and antagonisms, "a place of the re-evaluation of societary work", of the origin of moneyed aristocracy, of tradition and of nonmanual work. 16

The economic function of the town lies, according to Blaha, in the circumstance that the technical division of labour gave origin to "a new cha-

¹⁴ ib., p. 77.

¹⁵ ib., p. 84. ¹⁶ ib., p. 102.

racter of economy which is manifest as a new relationship of the worker to raw materials, as a new economic relationship between individual persons, and which exhibits new means of this contact, a new material and ideal manifestation of the economic power and force, new economic qualities and new forms of economy".¹⁷ Emphasis is laid by Bláha on the division of labour, on the exchange of products. The contact economy took place of the old household economy of the countryside. The economic power of the capital tends to prevail as a means of economic enterprise. Crafts and trade are detached from the ground and consequently they represent "a quite new legal, social and cultural relationship of the individual person to his physical and social surroundings". The trade itself "does not only represent this detachment from raw materials, but from the town itself".¹⁸

The differences in economics and ownership of the town population are reflected in the sphere of their political rights and tend "to destroy the democracy of the town life and town administration", since participation in the town administration depends on the person's fortune.¹⁹

The substance of the economic functions of a town community consists, however, in the fact that in towns only could arise new forms of economic enterprise and life in general, such as could not have been developed in rural communities. In this way the town group became an economic factor organizing, giving incentive to, and emancipating, the rest of the society.²⁰

The political function of the town is conceived by Bláha as a political activity the force of which lies in the inner life of the town group itself, its collective agreement and will, and the basis of which is the free individual being. Consequently, the town autonomy is an objectification of this collective manifestation. It is in the town territory that are rooted efforts of getting rid of feudal political privileges, i. e. the fight to make the social importance of a social stratum—instead of supernatural privileges—decide on its participation in rights and power..."²¹

The town political activity is not directed towards the outside world only, but inwards too, and not merely towards the administrative sphere, but to economic, social and cultural spheres as well.²² Bláha pays attention to the complex windings, breaks, breakdowns and new ascents of the town political activity and its institutional means and economic and social sources. Again, Bláha constantly considers the problems of his time, i. e. the economic, social and political situation of our towns from before World War I. In this connection he refers to the unsatisfactory state and to the lack of democratic spirit in the local autonomy of that time. On the other hand, in spite of these shadows cast over the town political activity and local autonomous institutions, he looks for new political elements which the town has brought into the political sphere. The town political institutions with their autonomy have become an organ of self-consciousness and self-determination of the town-group and, simultaneously, an organ

¹⁷ ib., p. 103.

¹⁸ ib., p. 127.

¹⁹ ib., p. 108.

²⁰ ib., pp. 135-136; Sociologie, p. 125.

²¹ Město, p. 142.

²² ib., p. 137.

"of political importance in relation to the broader government institutions...".
"In this way the autonomous town group has become a political connecting link between the individual person and the larger national or state collectivity."²³

Blaha discusses the tasks to be solved by the town political institutions in various spheres of the town autonomy and the town life, and the development changes facing them. Let us quote him: "The town community faces the development from a large bourgeois community into a social one."24

When analyzing the component parts of the structure and functions of the town group, Bláha does not omit to point to the changes which, in agreement with these social factors, have taken place in the social-psychological sphere. The objective contents and forms of the town life represent "an objective symbol of a new collective inner life". Included is a sense for common affairs, based on "a kind of a primitive form of social solidarity", not — as in village communities - on blood ties.²⁵ The town material organization itself and the development of the town economic functions are expressions of new mental traits of the town population, based on a new inner relation of man to economy. Bláha says explicitly: "Not only material work and its quality is relevant, but every craftsman has to acquire trading and calculating capabilities as well. The material work has to be supplemented by mental maturity, by mental work."26 The "township" is characterized by a constant mobility and changeability, by its development towards practicality and purposefulness, by symptoms of a rational rule controlling both the nature and the social milieu. "New forms of human feelings, especially aesthetic and social ones, arise."27

New characteristic mental traits develop in the town community.²⁸ "The circulation of ideas and taste, the contest of spiritual energies is quicker, the tempo of the mental life is faster, its economy, purposefulness and creativeness is higher," Social aesthetic, moral and religious feelings, the sense for truth grow more refined; in the sphere of endeavour there appears greater mobility and activity and, naturally, as a manifestation and reflection of these mental changes, their objectifications follow in the spheres of law, art and culture in general. A better organized, more complex and differentiated town community, when compared with that of the village, exhibits a higher standard of cultural qualities.²⁹

Town people are more dependent upon one another. Because of that new processes of association, assimilation, cooperation and integration take place,³⁰ as well as processes of opposition, of individual manifestations opposing social pressures of the town community. Such phenomena are necessarily brought about by the changeable, movable character of the town community. Of course, a series of moral and social shortcomings are caused by it too, as well as the destruction of the new values.

²³ ib., p. 148.

²⁴ ib., p. 149.

²⁵ ib., pp. 55-56. ²⁶ ib., pp. 115 ff.

²⁷ ib., pp. 120—121.

²⁸ In his work The Town Blaha speaks of the psychical function of the town, while in his Sociologie he deals with practically the same problems under the heading "The Cultural Function of the Town".

²⁹ ib., pp. 167—168. ³⁰ Sociologie, p. 127.

The importance of the origin and development of the town community and its functions, the nature of its cultural qualities is summed up by Bláha as a contribution to the development of the principle of individualization, rationalization and solidarization. He says: "The infiltration of these three principles was manifest in all our considerations, whether the causes of the origin of the town were concerned or its material or social organization, or its economic, social. political, cultural functions or their objectifications. The town life, the township. a constant advance towards individualism, the cult of personal liberty and initiative; then a permanent advance towards the rule of reason, the rationalization of life manifestations; and finally, a constant advance in the sense of solidarism - there lies the spiritual originality of the town group, the manifestation of its living force without which man would not be man in such a full sense of the term as he is today."31 Bláha put forward these conclusions already in his study Město in 1914. He says: "The town quality of social phenomena is expressed by the progress and tendency towards individualization, rationalization and solidarization. If we consider the history of the origin and development of the town, of specific causes of the origin and development of its functions, its material and social structures, its specific activities, whether social, economic, political or psychological, in all these spheres we can state this tendency and this progress."32

This brief and very schematic outline of Bláha's study of the town, more than half a century old, was not meant to confront the results of the study with what sociology, and especially Marxist sociology, has contributed later on to the theory of the city on the basis of new historical, political-economical, demographic and sociological data and what in many ways may correct or, at least, more precisely formulate Bláha's conclusions. No contribution to the theory of urban sociology was intended, but a contribution to the knowledge of Bláha's scientific personality, its profile and development, his sociological conception and methods of work.

His first greater sociological monograph documents the fact that when Bláha was growing ripe to write this study through which he applied for a university teacher's post, he had already worked out the essentials of his sociological research, of his cognitive approach to social reality from the sociological standpoint.

Bláha's sociological conception was clear. Although it started from essential elements of the school of sociological realism and objectivism, it was not entirely dependent on it. On the contrary. It refused all extremes of morphological as well as of functionalist and static trends. It proceeded from the unity of the form and contents of social life and its structures. His structural functional approach is enriched by Bláha's search for the specificity of social structures since he points out their qualitative specific character caused not only by their structures. but also by relations of the social functions of these structures. And, above all,

³¹ ib., p. 131.

³² Město, p. 17.

he emphasizes the principle that the knowledge of these structures in their nature and functioning is not possible without the knowledge of their development, their changeability.

It is not necessary to emphasize that an "organic" part of Blaha's working method and of its analytical component is its comparative aspect. In this case with reference to the village community. His analysis of the structure and functions of the town and of the township and his analysis of their development tendencies is confronted with the traits of the village community.

Finally, this work applies the necessary principle of taking into account the social-psychological side of the carriers of every social structure and its functions, the mutual influences of social and mental factors, i. e. of social objectifications and their subjective carriers, the individuals. In this work about the town are contained the elements of Bláha's effort to determine the social-psychological profile, the social typology of the carriers of social objectifications as it was fully applied in his Sociologie sedláka a dělníka (Sociology of the Peasant and the Worker) and in his Sociologie inteligence (Sociology of the Intelligentsia).

His study of the town shows that in the time when it was written, Bláha had worked out in main outlines the project of his sociological methodology and also his conception of the sociological system as it can be found — in a far more elaborated form and on a qualitatively higher level — in his Sociologie.

BLÁHOVY SOCIOLOGICKE STUDIE O MĚSTÉ

První větší knižní publikace, kterou napsal I. A. Bláha, je studie o městě (Město, Praha 1914, 215 s.). Jde o obsahlou sociologickou studii, založenou na bohaté dokumentaci. Nebylo by správné, kdyby vzhledem k Bláhovým pracím, které napsal po 1. světové válce a které dosly velikého ohlasu, toto předválečné dílo bylo opomíjeno. Již proto ne, že v něm se již projevují výrazně hlavní rysy Bláhovy sociologické metodologie i jeho koncepce sociologického systému. Bláha v studii o městě zkoumá především specifické rysy uspořádání města (které chápe jako složitou organizaci mnoha různě propojených organizací), po stránce materiální i duchovní. Speciální kvalitu města zjišťuje v specifické vazbě jeho fungování hospodářského, politického, právního a kulturního. Město má nejen svou společenskou strukturu a své vlastní funkční kvality, nýbrž je i podkladem zvláštního způsobu myšlení, cítění a jednání. Strukturálně funkcionální analýzu města Bláha doplňuje, přesněji řečeno propojuje analytickým hlediskem vývojovým, kterým zachycuje proměnlivost městské struktury a městských funkcí. Bláha tedy doplňuje strukturálně funkcionální rozbor hledisky dynamickým a sociopsychickým. Specifičnost města spatřuje nejen v jeho skladbě, ale i ve zvláštní vazbě (federaci) jeho funkcí. Takto již v této studii o městě, kterou vydal před více než půl stoletím, Bláha anticipoval prvky své metodologie, kterou pak uplatnil v mnoha dalších studiích a kterou předběhl značně vývoj sociologické metodologie vůbec.